

Weekly WV a year old!

WORKERS VANGUARD 25c

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10 September 1976

Ford Motor Co. Offer: An Attack on All Auto Workers

For An Industry-Wide Auto Strike!

September 14 should be the date to launch a well-prepared industry-wide strike of all North American auto workers against the giant and profit-floated auto industry. Such a strike would very quickly smash the schemes of the auto capitalists to take back many of the hard-won gains of United Auto Workers (UAW) members, and would just as quickly compel the companies to grant substantial improvements in wages, benefits and working conditions.

"Pattern Bargaining"—Recipe for Defeat

The present UAW leadership however has no intention of waging such a strike. UAW president Leonard Woodcock and the rest of the union's tops are instead committed to a defeatist policy of "pattern bargaining." This year Woodcock and his bureaucratic cronies have designated Ford as the union's target company. If the union is unable to come to a new agreement with management by September 14 Ford operations will be struck. Meanwhile UAW members at General Motors, Chrysler and American Motors, whose contracts also expire on September 14, will be forced to work, in effect, with no contracts.

According to the Woodcock/Reu-

ther school of trade unionism "pattern bargaining" permits the union to apply maximum pressure on the struck company by allowing its competitors to continue to produce and sell cars. It is abundantly clear, however, that so far as the UAW is concerned the auto giants approach the union with a united face.

It is no accident that General Motors, Ford and Chrysler all complain in unison that fringe benefits costs have risen "too swiftly" and demand that in the future increases in fringe benefits must either come out of the auto workers' pockets directly (in the case of medical care insurance) or out of the cost-of-living allowance (COLA).

More Speed-Up—More Profits

The 1976 model year ended with the auto companies raking in enormous profits. GM, Ford and Chrysler all amassed record or near-record earnings. In the case of GM these totalled approximately \$1.7 billion in the first two quarters of 1976.

These huge returns were not merely the result of high sales or of a policy of monopolistic price-gouging. Since Woodcock's last sellout in 1973, the companies have been systematically speeding up the assembly lines and intensifying the rate of exploitation. GM's sales during the second quarter of 1976 totaled 2.37 million units worldwide, slightly below the record 2.39 million units it sold during the same period in 1973. But this production was achieved with tens of thousands fewer workers.

Over 25,000 auto workers still remain on indefinite layoff. An even greater number have lost both their union membership and their recall rights and will likely never be rehired. Yet by scheduling grueling overtime and engaging in systematic practices of speed-up, cutting corners on health and safety and resorting to widespread harassment the auto companies have managed to



Striking auto workers outside GM plant in Detroit at the beginning of 1970 UAW walkout.

jack productivity up to the point that they are making the same number of cars with a substantially smaller workforce.

Instead of combatting this all-out offensive on working conditions, the treacherous Woodcock bureaucracy has actively abetted the companies in their criminal activities. In every auto plant in the country thousands of grievances against management harassment, safety violations, health hazards and speed-up are permitted to gather dust while Woodcock and his local hangers-on turn their backs on victimization of the union's militants.

Such bureaucratic treachery is not new. The UAW brass has traditionally capitulated to management, giving it a

free hand in setting shop-floor conditions in exchange for relatively high wages and benefits.

Unemployment Looms

While some bourgeois commentators have optimistically forecast strong sales in auto, predicting 1977 sales to rival the record sales of 1973, it is more likely that the industry will experience another slump in the near future. In the U.S. capital spending remains low. According to statistics compiled by the magazine *Business Week* (13 September) capital spending is making its slowest comeback from any recession in the postwar period. At the same time new orders for consumer goods, for goods-

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Abel Whips Reformer Sadlowski at Steelworkers Convention

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"Peace" march in Dublin August 28.

The Sunday Press [Dublin]

Down with the Emergency Measures, North and South!

What's Behind Anti-Violence Marches in Ireland?

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Pre-Contract Harassment Campaign at Mahwah

Militant Black Auto Worker Victimized by Ford Motor Co.

Interview with Richard Bradley

Richard Bradley works at Ford Motor Company's Mahwah assembly plant in New Jersey and is a member of the Militant Solidarity Caucus (MSC) of UAW Local 906. For the last six months Bradley and other MSC members have been the target of a company harassment campaign that has reached a crescendo during recent weeks.

WV: How has Ford management been victimizing you and why does this harassment campaign come just at this point?

Bradley: It started when the job I did for five and a half years was taken away from me in the last week of February. Since that time I have done a total of something like 40 different jobs, a lot of which were in violation of my contractual rights and classification. The latest incident was a couple of weeks ago when Labor Relations suspended me for not doing a job my doctor stated was dangerous to my health. After the company realized they didn't have a case, the company dropped the suspension, but they want me out bad.

Why now? Because we have a contract coming up September 14. Ford has a history of getting rid of all the militants before the contract period or just before union elections. They go about this by trying to set people up like they did to Dave Gardner in '73. He was a vice president of Local 906 and before that a plant committeeman. They terminated Dave Gardner because of a wildcat the company said he started that summer. Now it's another contract period and they would like to get rid of militants like me.

WV: Could you spell out just how the company has been harassing you?

Bradley: They are violating the contract on a day-to-day basis such as by assigning me to a rated job and not paying me the rate, by refusing to give me a permanent job, by loaning me out of my department. And especially by disregarding my medical restriction. My bronchial tubes are swollen from the fumes and smoke and exhaustion that comes from working in the pits. I developed a case of bronchitis and went to my physician, who sent a letter back to the company doctor saying I should no longer work in the pit, it's a danger to my health, and that I should be given another job. But the company continued to harass me with jobs like under the front fender and so forth, and the foreman refused to let me have medical treatment.

What they're trying to do is build up a case of disciplinary offenses so the company can fire me, terminate me on the basis of my work record. There's also a rumor going around the plant that the company is trying to frame-up me and Lisa Diamond [another MSC member] by implicating us in someone

trying to steal something out of the plant.

WV: Why were you removed from your steady job after holding it so long?

Bradley: Because starting last October I had filed grievances on the industrial engineer, Mike Peterman, for turning the line speed up two to three hundred fast. This continued from October right through February when they pulled me off the job.

The line speed, you know, should be set at a certain amount, but then the company just turns up the line speed any time they fall behind. When you're working on the line, when your line speed is running two to three hundred fast, it's just hell. All of a sudden you're running after the cars on the assembly line. Ford Motor Company is continually violating our contractual rights just so they can keep up their profits. For that they'll run the line speed up so high it physically destroys you.

WV: What does this attempt to drive

WV: How long have you been a member of the Militant Solidarity Caucus?

Bradley: I have been a member of the MSC since it was founded in 1973, September or October I think. Before that I was in the Rank and File Coalition, but after a while I could see that while the Rank and File criticized the bureaucracy it also caved in to it a lot. It didn't call for a completely new working-class-struggle leadership of the union, either in the Local or the International.

The MSC started up after some of us were kicked out of a United Action Caucus meeting that fall where they were supposedly going to discuss a program. I stood up and made the point that they should call for a labor party and a workers government. But they opposed it and kicked out those of us who had come to put forward that program. So then we formed the MSC.

Besides calling for a workers party to fight for a workers government, the

instance. There are people who work in the plant for ten, fifteen years, but the jobs in places like quality control, the freight department, maintenance and so on go to somebody who knows someone in management. That's all wrong, these jobs should be assigned by seniority.

The MSC has a program that calls for a union hiring hall on a first-come, first-serve basis which would eliminate the favoritism and the discrimination against blacks in hiring. There are other opposition groups in the Local who do not have this demand. Their program is preferential hiring—going through the courts and the Labor Department, letting them rip up the contract, and sometimes taking jobs away from the workers who are already employed. This undercuts the whole class struggle for all workers.

Also there have been many incidents of racism in the plant. There was a wildcat in 1969 by the UBW [United Black Workers] protesting an incident when the general foreman, Richie Ziegler, called a black worker a "nigger." Wilbur Haddock, one of the UBW leaders, was fired during that wildcat. That was in the days of DRUM [Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement] when the nationalists were big and a lot of black workers thought they could fight racism without uniting with white workers.

The program of the MSC is that there must be a united class-struggle fight against racial oppression. Not just in the plant but in the whole society, wherever it exists. So the MSC has done a lot around the busing issue. We are for busing and we say that it should be extended to the suburbs, that black kids should be able to get out of the ghetto schools and there should be quality integrated education for all.

We are against federal troops being involved, in Boston or anywhere. The MSC calls for labor/black defense to stop the racists from attacking black students. In Chicago, UAW Local 6 set up this kind of union defense guard last year to protect the house of a black member against some nightriders who were trying to firebomb it. That stopped the racists in their tracks.

WV: A lot of people say demands for a workers party are "too advanced" and "irrelevant." What's your answer?

Bradley: Irrelevant? Look, the UAW International is supporting Jimmy Carter for president. This seems to be one of Woodcock's favorite lines this year: support the Democrats, get the Republicans out. If there's a strike, Woodcock more than likely would end it after four or five days; if it continued any longer it would be an embarrassment to the Democratic Party and Leonard Woodcock, who was the first labor leader to endorse Carter. So then what do we get? A peanut boss who runs an open shop—no union—and pays his workers \$2.50 an hour!

WV: What has the union done to fight this victimization of you and other militants? And what is the MSC doing?

Bradley: The union has done absolutely nothing. Since this whole harassment campaign was started by Ford Motor Company, I've filed something like

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WV Photo

you out of the plant mean for other workers at Mahwah?

Bradley: I've been an outspoken militant and oppositionist for more than six years. If the company can fire me it will demoralize the whole plant. Everybody knows I stand up for union rights and for a tough fight against the company. If they're successful in knocking me out of the plant it'll take some of the fight out of all the ranks at contract time.

I'm known as a spokesman for the Militant Solidarity Caucus and last September it was the MSC that I was pushing to get the plant and 906 geared up for a strike over speed-up. Management noticed this and they would like to go into this contract without any militants around. That's why other members of the MSC like Lisa Diamond have also been targets of company harassment.

Militant Solidarity Caucus raises other demands like nationalization of industry without compensation, and a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to create more jobs and fight unemployment. Also our program calls for union-controlled hiring on a first-come, first-serve basis, free 24-hour child care paid for by the company or the government, for opening up the skilled trades with special training programs for women and minorities, and that there should be no discrimination in hiring or job hiding, and so on. Also, the line speed should be fixed in the contract: that's one of the things we were fighting for last fall.

WV: What about racism at Mahwah, and what is the MSC program to fight it?

Bradley: I've been working here for over six years and I've seen plenty of examples of racism, in the hiring, for



WV Photo

Fremont Bureaucrats Flout Call for UAW-Wide Strike

FREMONT, California—Several hundred members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 1364 met on August 22 to pass a strike authorization motion in preparation for the upcoming auto contract battle. But the pro-Woodcock Local bureaucrats under shop chairman Earlie Mays received more than they wanted when the workers overwhelmingly passed a motion put forward by the Committee for a Militant UAW (CMUAW):

- "In order to prevent the weakening and division of the union's power as has happened in previous contracts, the position of UAW Local 1364 is:
- 1) No stockpiling - no overtime;
- 2) No contract extension - no contract, no work;
- 3) For a union-wide strike September 14th.
- 4) For elected strike committees to enforce this policy."

According to a spokesman for CMUAW interviewed by WV, the worried bureaucrats began lining up votes after the above resolution passed. Thus another CMUAW motion - to inform the International of the Local's position and to set a date for electing strike committees—was defeated. However, a separate motion against working overtime, co-sponsored by two reformist opposition groups ("Standup" and "Resistance"), was then passed despite the opposition of Mays and his flunkies. One bureaucrat proposed a special membership meeting for August 26, and a motion to this effect was passed.

But Mays & Co., along with Woodcock's International, are clearly

afraid of *any* mobilization of the rank and file. Thus the very next day after the strike vote meeting, the executive board met and simply decided to ignore all the motions passed by the membership. In a disgusting bureaucratic leaflet, the executive board denounced the no-overtime proposal as the work of "irresponsible people in this membership who are attempting to violate our UAW-GM contract by encouraging our members to walk off their jobs after 8 hours."

Having denounced the 8-hour day, the leaflet proceeded to repeat the warnings of UAW International representative Joe Alvarez that "it is illegal for this local union to encourage its membership to slow down or stop production... we abide by and support the International contract and the position of the International union that any motions contrary to International policy procedure are illegal and not valid.... We, as responsible elected union officers cannot stand by and allow you to be misled...." And just to make sure the membership would not be "misled," the executive board summarily canceled the special membership meeting!

Despite the cancellation of this special membership meeting, the Standup/Resistance coalition attempted to bypass the obstacle of the executive board by holding a rally on August 26. Only about 30 people showed up, and a desperate Resistance spokesman called for working with anybody who is for more union democracy and against overtime. However the speaker had no proposals for further action.

Ironically it was the Standup group, politically supported by the Maoist October League (OL), which had enthusiastically joined with Mays & Co. in the June 1973 Local elections through a lash-up called the Brotherhood Caucus. The Brotherhood ran on a lot of empty "people power" rhetoric but no program. The July 1973 issue of the *Call*, newspaper of the OL, boasted that the election of the Brotherhood "should break the stranglehold of the International UAW leadership...." In contrast, militant oppositionists who later formed the CMUAW warned against voting for the opportunist Brotherhood slate.

Having spawned nothing but a new bureaucracy, Standup now threatens to repeat the experience by joining forces

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Militant Phone Worker Fired

"Standing Up Has Been Outlawed, Miss Martinson"

SAN FRANCISCO—In an incredible display of the arrogance toward women employees for which it is notorious, Pacific Telephone on September 7 fired militant operator Margaret Martinson for the "crime" of standing up while she worked at her position! Martinson, a directory assistance operator at the Sloat II office in S.F., is a member of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) of Local 9410, Communications Workers of America (CWA).

Martinson told WV that she was flabbergasted when service assistant John Johnson peremptorily announced that "standing is now outlawed" and ordered her to sit down forthwith. For failing to do so immediately, she was charged with insubordination, and suspended and finally fired at a hearing September 7!

The phone company still thinks it is running a 19th-century sweatshop with



WV Photo

Margaret Martinson

its reform school norms of labor discipline. The only thing missing is the birch rod and corporal punishment. Such outrageous harassment must be stopped once and for all by strong union action! Margaret Martinson must be rehired!

Martinson's case is part of what MAC has labeled a "management firing binge" in Sloat II which has resulted in recent months in the firing of four other operators on equally ludicrous charges and in the suspensions of several more. Many of the cases were instigated by Johnson, a former steward, who as a service assistant is not management and still remains a union member!

Johnson's recent escapades as company link have been somewhat bizarre if not downright perverted. Martinson was "caught" standing up by Johnson just as he emerged from under the operators' positions where he had been crawling around to catch workers whose feet were resting on the garbage cans. Another practice recently "outlawed"!

In Martinson's case management is contending that the night before she was initially suspended the previous practice

of allowing operators to stand up for brief periods while continuing to work was abolished. Conveniently, management neglected to tell anyone about the change. The phone company is notorious for such irrational harassment—for example the practice has only recently been ended of sneaking up behind an operator at the switchboard and holding a ruler behind her ear. If the operator saw the ruler with her peripheral vision, she was reprimanded for not having her eyes to the switchboard!

Nonetheless as a grudging concession to the fact that operators are human beings, they have traditionally been allowed to occasionally stand up while working. But when the Sloat offices opened recently, management in Sloat I decided to outlaw standing, sparking a series of protests against the rule. When the last case was grieved on the grounds that the rule was discriminatory, it was decided to end the discrimination... by outlawing standing up in Sloat II as well!

At press time MAC members in Sloat were circulating a petition in Martinson's defense and gathering affidavits from operators who testified they had stood without being disciplined on the very evening the rule was allegedly changed.

The Sloat II crackdown is a graphic illustration of the process the phone company euphemistically refers to as "loss of jobs through attrition," which has become particularly severe since the automation of thousands of jobs through introduction of electronic switching systems. Now, since its request to the Public Utilities Commission to charge for directory assistance calls has been turned down in California, Pacific Telephone is attempting to step up "attrition" even further through speed-up and harassment in order to get rid of militants and further sabotage service. A tape recording which advises customers to hang up and first check their phone books for telephone numbers has also significantly cut down on directory assistance calls.

According to MAC, force reductions have resulted in the loss of more than 61,000 jobs in 1975 alone. However, the CWA International has refused to fight this loss, maintaining its shrinking dues base by demanding dues increases and even taking a cut out of the strike funds! While a MAC leaflet distributed at Sloat in July pointed to the increased urgency to fight every case of harassment, the Local bureaucrats have simply caved in to the company onslaught. In Sloat I chief steward and executive board representative Ester Larson sided with the company in contending that operators should not be allowed to stand!

As Martinson's firing demonstrates, despite the anti-union "affirmative action" programs so touted by feminists, the phone company's outrageous treatment of women employees has not abated one whit in recent years. Through constant harassment and humiliation tactics, and use of the barbaric "absence control" plan under

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Court Finds Massive Segregation

Integrate Cleveland Schools Now!

CLEVELAND—On August 31, the Ohio state department of education and the Cleveland school board were found guilty of deliberate segregation of schools here in an NAACP-initiated suit. Federal judge Frank J. Battisti's decision calls for submitting a desegregation plan to the court within 90 days. Busing is the expected outcome of this suit.

The controversy over busing is the current focal point of a racist mobilization against integration and equality for black people in the U.S., and events in Cleveland may well play an important role in this battle. For the city's large black population the judge's decision has only codified what they already know: that Cleveland is one of the most segregated cities in the U.S.

Cleveland is sharply racially divided by the Cuyahoga River, with blacks living on the East Side and whites on the West. The city itself is surrounded by 19 suburbs whose population is overwhelmingly white. Eighty-five percent of the black residents of Cuyahoga County live within the city limits of Cleveland.

The Cleveland school situation is a good indicator of the conditions blacks generally face in this city. While 57 percent of Cleveland's 125,000 students are black, 92 percent attend schools that are 90 percent black or more. The figures are comparable for white students. Only 24 schools, out of 175, have a racial balance less than either 90 percent black or white.

The NAACP Suit

During Cleveland's desegregation trial, which began last November, the NAACP cited 350 deliberate acts of segregation. The suit unveiled numerous devices used by the school board to separate white and black students. Construction of new schools, drawing of boundary lines and creation of optional school zones were all done to reinforce racial segregation. Faculty assignments were allocated along racial lines and white students have been given special transfer rights to escape predominantly black schools.

The school board set up portable classrooms, devised "relay" classes and even rented facilities to house black students to keep them away from white schools. In the few cases where school administrators were forced to bus blacks from overcrowded ghetto schools to underutilized white schools, the black students were herded into separate classrooms.

The school board defends these actions and sees these as maintaining the "neighborhood school" concept. But this is precisely the issue! The school board's utilization of the neighborhood school principle means that their decisions on construction, zoning, faculty assignments, etc., were all made to conform to Cleveland's racially segregated housing patterns.

The voluminous evidence presented by the NAACP was conclusive enough for the court to rule, even before defense testimony was presented, that a prima facie case had been established that state and local officials had committed deliberate acts of segregation. With the decision now in, barring legal delays due to school board appeals, remedy hearings should begin soon and it is expected that a court-ordered busing plan will be the result.

The scope of the plan and reaction to it are crucial questions facing this racially polarized city. Not only is the question of busing itself posed, but the NAACP suit was designed in part to

show that only a metropolitan solution (busing to the suburbs) will be viable. The Spartacist League (SL) has always pointed this out and called for extension of the Boston busing plan to the suburbs. At the same time the SL has warned that busing is not enough. Full integration and equality for oppressed racial minorities in the U.S. is possible only following a proletarian revolution sweeping away the racist capitalist order that produces the segregated housing patterns and massive black unemployment which give rise to prison-like ghetto schools.

The Array of Forces

With the public announcement of the judge's decision, anti-busing forces which kept a low profile during the trial will now become more visible. This opposition has already emerged in Cleveland's suburbs.

The Euclid-based (East Side suburb) Citizens for Neighborhood Schools (CNS) is attempting to organize a county-wide movement to stop busing and has chapters in several suburbs. This group has coalesced around support for a constitutional amendment that would prohibit forcing a student to attend a public school other than one near his home. This amendment is being sponsored by Ohio Congressman Ronald Mottl whose constituency is based in Parma, a white southwest suburb.

This group held rallies in Euclid and Parma and collected over 50,000 signatures in support of Mottl's resolution. Unfortunately the Parma rally was held

at the UAW Local 1005 hall. This is the same local that organized a goon squad to prevent W/V sales teams and other left newspapers from distributing literature during the 1973 auto contract period (See W/V No. 30, 12 October 1973).

Unlike Boston, where two-faced liberal mayor White abstractly favors busing, here the anti-busing forces will have open support from the mayor. Ralph Perk. Perk's recent re-election victory over a black challenger has been attributed to getting out the "white vote" on Cleveland's West Side.

In April, Cleveland city government attempted to intervene on the side of the racist Boston School Committee in the latter's Supreme Court appeal of their busing order. Perk also requested U.S. Attorney General Levi to enter the Boston case to challenge court-ordered busing. In May, after Levi declined to enter the Boston case, Perk invited the attorney general's office to intervene in the suit here.

If and when these legal challenges fail, and racist opponents of busing move to violently confront any implementation order, the stage will be set for fascist vermin to crawl out of their holes. With the Ohio Ku Klux Klan relatively strong, Cleveland may prove to be an excellent breeding ground for a large right-wing mobilization.

Of course any terror unleashed against blacks will have the thinly veiled support of Cleveland's notoriously racist police department. Blacks have always been subjected to "shoot first, ask questions later" cop-justice. The local gendarmes gun down black youths

at will, confident that prosecutors will routinely rule "justifiable homicide" when challenged.

During the administration of Carl Stokes, the first black mayor of a major U.S. city, Cleveland cops went on a bonapartist rampage, loading up with automatic weapons. Refusing to give up this over-kill armory even when ordered to do so by civilian authorities, the racist cops claimed their lives were in danger from black militants. When the long suppressed outrage of blacks erupted, as in 1966 and 1968, the National Guard was quickly brought in to militarily quarantine the East Side ghettos.

The Working Class and Left

All the ingredients of Boston are here: growing racist sentiment, an organized right wing and anti-busing school/city officials backed by racist cops. But there is a significant difference between Boston and Cleveland, and that is the social weight of Cleveland's working class.

Cleveland, unlike Boston, is a heavily industrialized city with a large proletariat. An estimated 30-40 percent of the work force is black and the AFL-CIO, UAW and Teamsters have altogether 210,000 workers organized into unions here. The objective basis upon which the SL has continually called for labor/black defense guards can be readily seen in Cleveland. Given the array of forces only an integrated defense guard organized by the unions and black organizations can guarantee peaceful desegregation.

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Victory to L.A. Transit Strike!

LOS ANGELES, September 6—Faced with a hard line from the Board of Supervisors of the Southern California Rapid Transit Division (RTD), the strike of 5,000 bus drivers and 1,100 transit mechanics here today went into its third week with no end in sight. Negotiations with drivers of the United Transportation Union (UTU) and mechanics of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) are not scheduled to resume until the end of the week.

The unions' wage and cost-of-living demands are no longer the main point of contention, since UTU head Earl Clark and ATU's Jerry Long have both given up their original demands leaving management and the unions now less than two percentage points apart on the money. Rather, the strike has become a political football as the Board of Supervisors is consciously trying to break the unions'. As the *Los Angeles Times* reported September 4, "many of the RTD directors have pointed out that the San Francisco Board of Supervisors last spring adopted a hard line with craft workers and forced pay cuts, thereby appealing to tax payers."

There are indications, however, that this bald electoral ploy may backfire as public opinion even in this rabidly anti-union town seems to have tilted away from the supervisors. Federal mediators have been quoted in the local press to the effect that they hold the Board responsible for the impasse in negotiations which tied up transportation over the Labor Day weekend for an estimated 750,000 daily passengers in the country's fourth largest mass transit system.

On September 1, a compromise 21

percent wage increase between the mechanics union and the negotiation committee was reached with the support of L.A. mayor Bradley, only to have the Board of Supervisors turn it down the next day with president Bryon Cook stating that the Board would oppose a compromise "even if the buses don't run till Christmas." To show "good faith," the mechanics union went ahead the following day, September 3, and voted to accept the 21 percent offer, even though the vote is moot in face of the Board's intransigence.

Negotiations with the drivers broke down at the same time although the UTU was reported ready to accept a 22 percent compromise offer earlier in the week. Now the Board says it is sticking to its original 19.5 percent offer, which the drivers have refused to vote on since the beginning. Now even the notoriously anti-union *Los Angeles Times* seems to be siding with the unions by implying that while in its point of view San Francisco's fight saved the capitalists thousands of dollars per man, the local supervisors' squabble over a couple of bucks a week is simply not worth it.

This is the second strike in three years for the transit workers. In 1974 Mayor Bradley threatened to call in the National Guard to break the 68-day strike of the drivers, who were facing the same hard-line RTD management hacked up by the press in its attempts to mount a "tax payers' revolt against a wage hike for the drivers."

Since the recent negotiations began, the RTD management has been arrogantly provocative. Flatly turning down the UTU's first offer, Governor Jerry Brown engineered a 70-day "cooling-

off" period, allowing for a state fact-finding commission to intervene. The commission, appointed by the "neutral" governor, came back recommending withholding of any immediate cost-of-living adjustment, a wage increase the unions could not accept and a clause reclassifying ATU "utility men" jobs to "bus service attendant," meaning a whopping pay cut from \$6.99 to \$5.00 starting wage.

After the drivers had worked 70 days without a contract, management waited until after the midnight August 23 deadline of the cooling-off period to offer to go into arbitration. This provocation left the union tops with no alternative but to call the strike. Then, two days after the strike began, the RTD reversed itself, rejected a compromise settlement and demanded immediate acceptance of its original insulting offer.

On August 27 RTD management announced it was withholding the last pre-strike paychecks of the drivers and mechanics and had the gall to blame the delay on the payroll clerks who were honoring the lines! RTD clerks had been *de-unionized* as a concession to management by the UTU bureaucrats in the 1974 contract sellout, but their show of elemental class solidarity remains to the clerks' credit. This vicious and slanderous attempt of management to divide the workers further enraged the drivers, who knew the checks had already been prepared and were simply being held by RTD management.

Later that afternoon, 120 driver militants marched into the meeting of the L.A. County Board of Supervisors to confront supervisor Baxter Ward

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Down with the Emergency Measures, North and South!

What's Behind Anti-Violence Marches in Ireland?

SEPTEMBER 6—After witnessing the demise of its second attempt at "power-sharing" in Northern Ireland (the ill-starred Constitutional Convention) last spring, the British government has mounted a new offensive in Ulster primarily directed against the "Provisional" wing of the Irish Republican Army (IRA). A vital adjunct to stepped-up repression in the North was the passage last week in Dublin of a package of "emergency measures" aimed at suppressing the Provos in the southern republic as well.

At the same time, the ruling parties and bourgeois media, both in Ireland and Britain, have enthusiastically greeted a campaign of mass anti-violence marches by Catholic and Protestant housewives and clergy in Northern Ireland as evidence that the paramilitary groups are increasingly isolated. Although the founders of the "Women's Peace Movement" have sought to keep it apolitical, their refusal to demand the removal of British troops has given the anti-violence marches a one-sidedly anti-Provo slant. Thus a healthy mass revulsion at the unending cycle of sectarian murder and retaliation is being manipulated by British authorities and the church hierarchies into support for strengthened "security forces" and yet another experiment in sharing out provincial executive posts among a handful of self-serving politicians.

The Republic Suppresses the Republicans

The immediate pretext for the state of emergency in the South was a recent series of bombings. On July 15 the Special Criminal Court of Dublin was blown open by bombs in an escape attempt by five Republican prisoners, one of whom successfully avoided recapture by making off in a taxi (the rest got caught in rush-hour traffic!). Six days later the British ambassador, Christopher Ewart-Biggs, was killed when a land mine was detonated under his limousine. Simultaneously an IRA-linked bombing campaign in Britain threatened to sour relations between the Republic and its major trade partner.

Prime Minister Liam Cosgrave warned the Dail (Ireland's parliament) that the two bombings challenged fundamental powers of his government: "the conduct of our international relations" and "the administration of justice." Bourgeois "justice" in the South already provided up to two-year prison terms for membership in the outlawed IRA, and some 600 persons have been sentenced on no more than the testimony of a police chief.

Now, following declaration of the state of emergency, measures have been passed by the Dail extending "preventive" detention from two days to seven, establishing longer sentences for IRA membership (including up to ten years for "incitement to join") and authorizing use of the army for police functions. The *gardai* (police) were particularly eager to extend the detention period to allow them longer time to brutalize and break down suspected Provos.

It is ironic the Irish Republic should unleash such draconian repression against the Republicans, whose aim is to "recuperate" the six counties of Ulster

for the fatherland. Despite a certain degree of pseudo-socialist rhetoric, the Provos have always been for forced reunification of the "six counties" with the present-day clerical/Tory-dominated capitalist Irish Republic. In the past, sections of the Catholic bourgeoisie (particularly in the Fianna Fail party of former prime minister Jack Lynch) have covertly provided military aid to the Provos in the North. But now the spectre of civil war growing out of the sharpened communal violence in Ulster has sent tremors of panic through the Green Tories.

A curious footnote to the adoption of the emergency measures in the Republic was the utterly hypocritical hue and cry raised by London over the release in Dublin of a report by the European Commission on Human Rights that found Britain guilty of torturing Roman Catholics ("suspected terrorists") in the North during 1971. Although neither he nor anyone else disputed the charges, British Secretary of State for Northern Ireland Merlyn Rees reproached Cosgrave in the most pained tones: "We regret the Irish Government's persistence in thus raking over the events of five years ago." With police-state measures being stepped up both North and South, apparently the Hon. Mr. Rees considers it bad form to make any mention of the suffering and torment this means for the victims.

Repression in the North

Frustrated by Protestant intransigence in its latest attempt to reconstitute a Northern Ireland executive of "moderate" Loyalist/Unionist and Catholic politicians, the British government dissolved the Constitutional Convention on March 5. Shortly thereafter it announced plans to continue the military occupation indefinitely. This led to the Provos' decision at the beginning of July to resume attacks on the police and British army. (The tenuous truce negotiated with representatives of the Labour government last year was partly based on British statements holding open the possibility of withdrawal of the troops in the future.)

Even before the Provisionals' change of tactics, however, Westminster had dispatched units of the hated anti-guerrilla Special Air Service (last assignment: Oman) to occupy overwhel-



The Sunday Press (Dublin)

Women's Peace Movement marchers from Catholic Andersonstown and Protestant Shankill in Belfast, August 28.

mingly Catholic South Armagh. London is now preparing new refinements to the repressive powers of the Emergency Provisions Act under which its more than 15,000 troops operate in Northern Ireland.

The smug British ruling class and its administrators in the Labour Party government pose as disinterested and civilized arbiters between incorrigible Ulster Protestant and Catholic ruffians. In fact, following savage Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) attacks on the Northern Civil Rights Movement marches in 1969, the Catholic minority—including self-described revolutionaries like Bernadette Devlin—welcomed the British imperialist army as protectors.

But the British troops' brutal occupation of the Catholic ghettos, the 1972 "Bloody Sunday" massacre and the wire-cage internment camps (most notably Long Kesh) crammed with Republican supporters—as well as the exclusive reliance on the RUC and Ulster Defense Regiments (UDR) to "restrain" ultra-rightist paramilitary Orange gangs—soon punctured the veil of imperialist "neutrality." Today a



Ciaran/Donnelly

Betty Williams (left) and Mairead Corrigan (right), leaders of "peace movement."

broad sector of the British left has realized that the British troops in Ulster are inimical to the interests of the oppressed Catholic minority and must be withdrawn.

The "Peace" Movements

In late 1969 the IRA Provisionals won broad support among the Catholic population of Belfast for their determined defense of the Catholic ghettos against marauding Orange gangs and Protestant police. However, the Provos' indiscriminate sectarian violence has led to their growing isolation and provided a convenient pretext for the far more massive terror of the police and army.

A new element in the Ulster political equation has been the emergence in recent months of "peace" movements against the sectarian violence, particularly the "Women's Peace Movement" that has burgeoned in the last month. This petty-bourgeois, pacifist-inspired movement was started after the deaths of three Catholic children in Belfast in August. The Maguire children were crushed against a wall when a Provo driving a car was shot dead by British troops and the auto lurched out of control. Although responsibility clearly lay with the army killers, the press (and

continued on page 10



Militant (London)

Trade-union march against sectarianism in Lurgan, Northern Ireland, earlier this year.

Militants Must Not Support USW's "Arnold Miller"

Abel Whips Reformer Sadlowski at Steelworkers Convention

LAS VEGAS The 18th Constitutional Convention of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) concluded here September 3. The convention marked the first major test of strength between forces loyal to outgoing president I.W. Abel and challenger Edward Sadlowski since local union elections this spring, when Sadlowski captured several important positions. For Sadlowski, the convention was a dismal flop as he proved unable to win a single floor fight.

Abel consistently recorded large majorities in support of policies which have been the cornerstone of his administration, including the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) and the "affirmative action" Consent Decree. Abel also easily succeeded in amending the constitution to increase the number of international union officers from three to five, a step necessary to resolve a squabble within

Hawkins Bill and raised a hoopla about a "guaranteed annual wage," he in fact admitted the futility of such schemes, remarking: "When the economy plunges to near-depression levels, nothing is sacred—not even good labor contracts."

For genuine militants, this would have provided an opening to point out that it is the capitalist system itself which is the source of unemployment. Militants would have called for a class-struggle offensive against unemployment, centered around strikes against layoffs. They would also have denounced the recent decision of the union to extend the contract in the container industry from February to October 1977. The Abel bureaucracy, intent on making concessions to the can makers (unemployment in the industry has risen to 30 percent), is apparently willing to settle for almost nothing in these negotiations, which have traditionally served as the "pattern" for USWA hargaining. Militants would demand instead a joint union-wide strike in the basic steel, nonferrous metals and can industry.

Rather than taking up the challenge, pro-Sadlowski delegates did not even straightforwardly denounce ENA, emphasizing instead the right of the membership to vote on this policy. This gutless ploy availed nothing, and the resolution on collective hargaining passed by an overwhelming margin.

Another major issue in the union has been the question of racial and sexual discrimination. Discontent with the Consent Decree, which provides only token benefits to minorities while threatening the union's seniority system, has been seething, particularly among black workers. Despite this, Abel's resolution endorsing the Consent Decree, and praising USWA officials for the manner of its implementation, passed easily. There was minimal floor discussion, with the Sadlowski forces—following the lead of their chief, who has refused to take a position on the Consent Decree—holding back.

Later in the convention Abel made a move to appeal to blacks. Leon Lynch, a black staff representative from Memphis, was appointed to the newly created vice-presidential post. The USWA has never before had a black international officer. The choice of Lynch clearly undercut the position of Abel's reformist critics, whose solution to racism has centered on just such phony schemes of promoting token blacks to higher office

Red-baiting

The hulk of Abel's opening speech was directed toward discrediting Sadlowski. Abel portrayed Sadlowski, whom he did not mention by name, as a creature manipulated by "outside forces." Since, in print of fact, Sadlowski has geared his campaigning to winning support from prominent liberals and the bourgeois media, and his strategy for victory is centered on bringing the capitalist state into union affairs, Abel's charge is in good part true. However, Abel's attack burgeoned into a generalized red-baiting campaign, in which he indiscriminately labeled as "outsiders" socialist groups, Nazis and opposition



Militant/Harry Ring

Delegates at United Steelworkers convention in Las Vegas last week.

groups within the Steelworkers.

While denouncing his union opponents as flunkies of leftist and outside forces, Abel was careful to verbally oppose the use of violence against dissidents. He is all too mindful of how the murder of Jock Yablonski of the United Mine Workers (UMW) provided a convenient excuse for the government to meddle in the UMW and assure the ouster of the Boyle regime. Abel piously declared that "The simplest and best way to frustrate the extremists is to expose their irresponsible ideas to close scrutiny and to let them be judged in the light of logic and common sense."

In practice, however, Abel had recourse to his usual bureaucratic methods. A good 25 percent of the 4,000 who held credentials at the convention were paid staff members appointed by the International. Many of this staff held multiple credentials, a device which made it even more difficult for oppositionists to force a roll-call vote. And the convention was conducted according to the obscure Cushing's Manual, which prohibits delegates from raising resolutions on the floor which have not been approved by the Abel-dominated committees.

In addition, a number of office employees, who were not even staff members, were issued false credentials. When one Sadlowski supporter, Cliff Mezn, attempted to photograph individuals issuing themselves false credentials, he was beaten up and his camera stolen. Later Abel admitted that at least one staff member was involved, who was sent home by his district director. When a speaker demanded from Abel the name of this assailant, his microphone was abruptly shut off!

Abel's opening address was only the first blow. Abel forces conducted a running hatchet job on Sadlowski for the duration of the convention. The agency for this was a collection of local union presidents which called itself "Steelworker Members Against Radical Takeover" (S.M.A.R.T.). S.M.A.R.T. dedicated itself to exposing the "outside, left-wing political organizations that want to use our Union...." Most of the

group's outpourings were crude anti-communist stuff, such as a photograph of Sadlowski with actress Jane Fonda, a noted anti-Vietnam War activist, at a July 4 People's Bicentennial rally in Washington, D.C.

However, S.M.A.R.T. also raised a number of legitimate questions about Sadlowski's record. Thus, its literature pointed up Sadlowski's poor record as a negotiator and his unwillingness to organize the unorganized in his district. S.M.A.R.T. also scored Sadlowski for failing to take positions on key issues, such as the Consent Decree and imports of foreign steel.

Sadlowski was clearly rattled by this continuing attack upon him. Encouraged by the red-baiting atmosphere, a rabid, right-winger proposed special union trials to "get the commies." Sadlowski actually took the floor to *solidarize* with this motion, grateful for the opportunity to denounce the "slander and innuendo" that he was a communist!

The Left Waits on Sadlowski

Sadlowski's open meetings drew around 200 delegates. His supporters came hoping to hear him announce plans for a counterattack against S.M.A.R.T. and for an aggressive offensive at the convention. Such was not to be the case. Sadlowski, for his part, was extremely reluctant to commit himself to anything. When one person questioned him on his position on a 30-hour workweek, he answered: "You get up on the convention floor and raise it!" And when one exasperated delegate demanded to know if Sadlowski was going to put forward a program, Sadlowski brushed him aside, promising to talk with him after the meeting!

Interestingly, the only piece of literature which he urged his supporters to distribute was a reprint from the Australian press concerning Abel's tour of that country last spring. In Australia, where the workers movement is considerably more class-conscious, calling on the government to intervene in the trade



Ed Sadlowski

Village Voice

the Abel camp over choosing a slate for the February elections.

The reformist Sadlowski cut a pathetic figure. Outnumbered, with support largely limited to delegates from his Chicago-based District 31, he clearly lacked the courage to wage a floor fight. Unable to find a cheap and popular issue to capitalize on, his supporters made weak and lackluster interventions. In fact, the discussion and debate never became nearly as heated as it did during the 1974 USWA convention (which had far less organized opposition), when there was a major battle over a dues increase and a hike in officers' salaries. And while large quantities of literature were put out by both pro- and anti-Abel groupings, Sadlowski's Steelworker Fightback Committee did not issue a single signed leaflet, let alone publish a platform to rally delegates around!

In his keynote address Abel strongly defended the ENA, which he argued had restored "stability" to the steel industry. However, with almost 100,000 steel workers laid off in the past two years, even Abel was forced to acknowledge the devastating erosion of jobs. While he pushed such reformist panaceas to unemployment as the Humphrey-

unions is considered a scandal by militant unionists and is a tactic engaged in only by extreme right-wingers. Aware of this, the shrewd Abel spoke out strongly during his tour against pending legislation in Australia that would institute government-run balloting in the unions, linking this to the tactics used by his opponents in the Steelworkers. The shameless Sadlowski, who regards government intervention as a virtue, urged that his supporters "expose" Abel by circulating the Australian news reports.

Meanwhile, the ostensible left liquidated itself into the Sadlowski non-effort at the convention. The Communist Party-backed National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee (NSRFC) published a daily bulletin. However, it did everything possible to ensure that it would not upstage Sadlowski. Its members never once identified themselves organizationally on the convention floor. Likewise, the NSRFC paper program, including demands for dumping ENA and full plant-wide seniority, was never brought to the floor, so as not to embarrass Sadlowski. The NSRFC canceled its scheduled public meeting and delegates who did show up at its hospitality suite were redirected to Sadlowski headquarters. Its craven capitulation was graphically demonstrated at a Sadlowski-called meeting when a worker asked George Edwards, co-chairman of the NSRFC, for a copy of the NSRFC "Report." Edwards refused, saying "This is Eddie's meeting."

The Rank and File Team (R.A.F.T.) delegates from District 26 (Youngstown) issued a leaflet with a minimal program including contract ratification by the membership, a fair dues structure and opposition to ENA. It openly advertised its willingness to stump for Sadlowski when it announced that "R.A.F.T. will support and work with any delegate who accepts these ideas in whole or in part."

Supporters of the "Steelworker," a newsletter backed by the Revolutionary Communist Party, boasted that they had personally presented their "Open Letter to I.W. Abel" to the USWA president in the gambling casino of the Las Vegas Hilton. The "Open Letter" protested Abel's undemocratic refusal



I.W. Abel

to seat the delegation from Local 65 (U.S. Steel's Southworks in Chicago). The "Steelworker" asserted that the pro-Sadlowski Local 65 delegates "ran and were elected on a program of opposition to the ENA, for the right to ratify contracts and against the way our union is being run." Needless to say, it had not one word of criticism of Sadlowski.

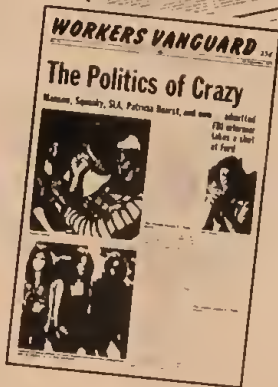
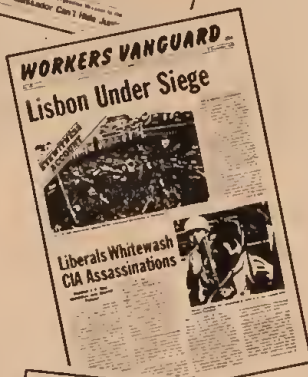
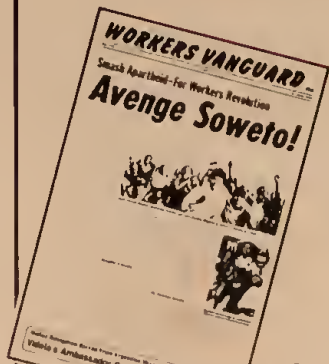
SWP Fiddles Sadlowski's Tune

The continued capitulation of most leftists to liberal-reformist bureaucrats like Sadlowski is nothing new. The contest in the Steelworkers is almost a repeat performance of the Boyle/Miller

continued on page 11

"...the point, however, is to change it."

—Karl Marx



Workers Vanguard, the weekly newspaper of the Spartacist League/US, analyzes the world from the standpoint of the Marxist commitment to change it. *WV* is polemical, combining incisive reporting and Trotskyist analysis to make vivid and comprehensible the complex social struggles which shape our world. But *WV* provides more than eye-opening and scrupulously honest coverage of the news; it presents the interventionist program to lead the working class forward to victory. *WV* seeks to be not only the most exciting and controversial weekly on the U.S. left, but also the collective organizer of the working class in struggle.

WV seeks to provide revolutionary leadership in the concrete struggles of the working class. When the bourgeois press sought to bury the militant strike of San Francisco city workers, which teetered on the brink of becoming the first citywide general strike in thirty years, *WV* was there. From the initial call "For an SF General Strike Against Anti-Labor Offensive!" (No. 103, 2 April) to the final report on "SF City Workers Strike Knifed in the Back" (No. 109, 14 May), *WV* was on hand every week with the program for extending and deepening the strike through labor solidarity and elected strike committees—the program needed to wrest control of the strike from the vacillating union bureaucrats whose policies led the militant workers of San Francisco down to defeat.

WV was a crucial component of the campaign to save Chilean miners leader Mario Muñoz from a murderous manhunt in Argentina. *WV* published the declaration launching the international campaign (No. 106, 23 April) and followed it up every week with reports and interviews which exposed the bloody reality of the "gentlemen's coup" in Argentina and the plight of the tens of thousands of political refugees for whom massive publicity and international solidarity was the only hope. And *WV* was on hand (No. 122, 20 August) for Muñoz's dramatic arrival in Europe.

During this first year of the weekly *WV*, a \$5 subscription brought readers hard-hitting articles on such subjects as: ferment in the Portuguese army; Patty Hearst and the SLA; Lillian Hellman's account of the witchhunt years; a factory occupation in Milan; Nazis in Chicago and the Klan in Houston; "Why We Don't Celebrate July 4"; Soviet dissidents; miners and Teamsters wildcats; gun control; Rev. Moon and the reactionary function of religion; for labor/black defense of Boston school busing; the rifts between Moscow and the European Communist Parties; the women's movement; Ernest Mandel and revisionist economics; the Chilean torture ship *Esmeralda*; the civil war in Lebanon; apartheid in South Africa.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Transsexual Challenges Tennis Establishment

Last week Dr. Renee Richards competed in the women's singles of the Tennis Week Open at South Orange, N.J. At the instigation of the Women's Tennis Association (WTA), 25 of the 32 original entrants withdrew to protest her participation. Until a sex change operation last year Renee Richards was Dr. Richard Raskind, an eye surgeon and nationally ranked tennis player.



Dr. Renee Richards

who had won the New York State clay-court title in 1964.

The decision of this transsexual to play in the major women's tournaments has driven the tennis establishment into a furor. Cries of "unfair" have been raised amid speculation that Richards can overpower a Chris Evert or a Billie Jean King and turn the women's tennis world topsy-turvy. To prevent Richards from competing in the U.S. Open at Forest Hills, the U.S. Tennis Association

is now instituting, for the first time, a chromosome test for all women entrants.

Behind the cry of "unfair competition" is undoubtedly a philistine horror about having to deal with a transsexual in any way. The tennis establishment's hostile, even hysterical, reaction to Richards has little to do with her relative competitive prowess. The hostile reaction to Richards from the tennis hgwigs is typical of what any transsexual faces. Men or women who undergo sex change operations are usually fired from their jobs, abandoned by their friends and face social ostracism.

After the operation, Richards understandably tried to hide her past and moved from New York to California for that purpose. However, Richards' attraction for competitive tennis gave her away. After winning a local tournament, a reporter investigated the tall, mannish-looking newcomer and discovered the truth. Faced with public exposure, a less courageous person would have tried to slink back into anonymity. However, Richards had the moral courage to openly challenge the system and demand to play in the major women's tournaments. Richards is neither a publicityseeker nor is cynically attempting to exploit her supposedly superior physical prowess to achieve stardom in women's tennis.

The main argument against Richards is that she has a man's strength and is unusually tall for a woman (6 ft. 2 in.). Strength and height are precisely the qualities that make for male superiority in tennis and justify separate sexual competition in the sport.

The assertion that Richards has a man's body with a woman's external genitalia is far from the truth. As a result of taking the hormone estrogen, Richards has reportedly lost more than 30 pounds, most of it muscle, since the operation. Furthermore, at 42, Richards lacks the mobility and stamina of her younger, better-conditioned opponents.

The result of the Tennis Week Open gave the lie to the exaggerated claims that Richards would dominate women's tennis. Visibly worn down by the long tournament, Richards was defeated in the semi-finals by a mediocre 17-year-old, Lea Antonopolis, who herself was easily defeated by the eventual winner.

To speak of some general democratic right of transsexuals to compete in women's athletic events is meaningless. The Richards case is obviously exceptional. The likelihood of top-flight male athletes having sex change operations and wanting to compete as women is virtually nil. That Renee Richards is competing in major women's tournaments is a good thing. It is a blow against the social ostracism of so-called sexual deviants and helps promote their democratic rights.

The number of transsexuals is and will remain minute. However, the full social acceptance of transsexuals is closely linked with democratic rights for the far larger homosexual population. And behind the pervasive anti-homosexual discrimination and prejudice lie organized religious obscurantism, reactionary traditional morality and a commitment to maintaining the family, i.e. to the male-dominated capitalist social order and the subservience of women. ■

Auto...

(continued from page 1)

in-process and for materials are dipping, pointing to a downturn in the economy by the beginning of the year.

Auto workers thus face the prospect of yet another grim round of layoffs in the next period. With GM and Chrysler's SUB funds nearly bankrupt and Ford's as unlikely to be able to withstand massive layoffs as the other funds were, the prospects are truly bleak.

But just as the UAW bureaucracy allows management a free hand on the shop floor, so too does it lie down in the face of the threat of new layoffs. Following the 1973 contract over 300,000 auto workers lost their jobs while Woodcock & Co. did absolutely nothing. The end result of such criminal apathy is a vicious cycle where auto workers are alternately laid off, then subjected to a new and intensified round of grueling overtime and speed-up. Between unemployment and 60-hour workweeks a large section of the union is effectively prohibited from actively participating in the life of the union.

Clearly the UAW must launch a militant and massive campaign to break this pattern. The need for a sliding scale of wages and hours for an unlimited 100 percent COLA and a shorter workweek with no loss in pay (30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay) has never been more evident.

Woodcock's Flexible Approach

Auto workers will recall that among the "precedent-setting" gains of Woodcock's '73 contract was the provision for "voluntary overtime." In essence, the UAW tops threw away the 40-hour week in exchange for making overtime "voluntary" after the auto worker worked a 54-hour week! That 54 hours just happens to be the standard overtime schedule at most assembly plants was hardly an accident.

In 1976 these same misleaders are making noises about the need to provide "job security" by "reducing work time." This is pure eyewash! At the UAW bargaining convention in March Woodcock peremptorily ruled out of order a mealy-mouthed motion urging the union to endorse the "principle" of a shorter workweek as a priority demand

in 1976.

Referring to various "short work time" schemes advanced by the union, UAW Ford negotiator Ken Bannon said, "We're not wedded to any particular issue" (Detroit News, 30 July 1976). A shorter workweek at no loss in pay or three more minutes break time—it's all the same to Mr. Bannon! At best, the Woodcock bureaucracy will try to get a few more paid holidays, probably at the expense of tightened company controls aimed at turning holiday pay into absentee control devices. More likely, Woodcock will "win" a "short work time" hoax such as the one now in effect in the agricultural implement division.

This farcical scheme, which has done absolutely nothing to create jobs, is merely another company absentee control device whereby workers with perfect attendance "bank" one half hour a week, enabling them to take off a day if they can manage 16 weeks of perfect attendance!

Companies On An Offensive

While the Woodcock hierarchy has demanded little of the auto companies, in line with its policy of "keeping our options open," the auto bosses have taken a hard line and are aggressively pushing for a rollback of many union gains. Banking on the conservatizing effects of the hundreds of thousands of layoffs over the past three years and on Woodcock's self-evident desire to avoid a major strike that could embarrass the Democratic Party presidential hopeful, right-to-work racist Jimmy Carter (Woodcock hopes to cash in on his early support to Carter's campaign by becoming Secretary of Labor in Carter's cabinet), the auto companies have put forward a number of proposals designed to gut the union. Among the demands being advanced by Ford management are:

- Make employees pick up part of the costs for health services....
- Tighten control on holiday pay eligibility.
- Restructure supplemental unemployment benefits (SUB) without additional company contributions.
- Reduce the starting pay and benefits of newly hired employees and those rehired after losing recall rights while on layoffs.
- Increase wages from 38 cents to 77 cents during the three-year contract, a boost which the union says would be below the traditional yearly wage hike of 3 percent.
- Consider diverting wages and cost-of-living allowance (COLA) monies to cover the costs of other contract provisions.
- Take the current \$1.14 in COLA money and "float" it into the new agreement but not add it to the base wage. That distinction...would hold down insurance benefits....

—Detroit News,
1 September 1976

Particularly dangerous are the company demands to restructure SUB benefits and to extend the probation period for new hires to one year, starting them out with \$1 an hour less wages. The companies want to make SUB benefits available only to high seniority workers (the Woodcock bureaucracy also favors such a step). This scheme along with the proposals on new hires will go a long way toward creating a layer of second-class citizens in the auto plants. This will divide the work force along racial and sexual lines and will result in vicious exploitation of women and minority workers. Anyone who has worked in an auto assembly plant with its high turnover and frequent layoffs can easily appreciate the incredible speed-up that must inevitably arise from such a division of the union. Militants must instead demand: Full union rights and benefits for all! No to government employer attacks on seniority! No two-tier systems! SUB for all workers from the date of hire and for the full duration of layoffs! For indefinite recall rights and maintenance of union membership for all laid-off workers!

An Attack on the Entire UAW

The offer made by Ford (along with GM and Chrysler) is an outrage and an

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attack on all auto workers. It must be decisively rejected! But militant auto workers must also dump the arrogant and treacherous Woodcock bureaucracy whose treasonous policies have encouraged the capitalists at every step. Woodcock and Bannon are upset at the auto companies' outrageous demands not because of what these demands mean for the workers who slave in the assembly plants, but because they will kindle the just anger of every auto worker and make it that much more difficult for these agents of the bosses in the labor movement to pose as militant union leaders.

The labor-faker leaders of the UAW are currently putting on a militant face. In the light of Ford management's demands it is now likely they will lead a strike. But as in the case of the recent United Rubber Workers strike, victory will be achieved in spite of and not because of these misleaders. The great danger is that Woodcock and his pals will call a brief strike to blow off steam and then try to force another rotten contract down the membership's throats. This happened in 1973.

Woodcock hypocritically complains that the auto companies' wage offer amounts to less than 3 percent a year and that the COLA formula is inadequate. But in 1973 Woodcock forced a

three-year, 3 percent a year contract on the union and settled for a COLA that covered only 80 percent of the rise in the cost of living. Now Woodcock screams because the auto companies want to divert some of the inadequate COLA monies to pay for new fringes. But in 1973 the UAW brass agreed to permit the diversion of 10 percent of the COLA to pay for other benefits.

Defend Wage Parity

It goes without saying that a settlement which does not exceed the 3 percent per year wage packet of the 1973 contract will be a big defeat. Already this year the Teamsters and United Rubber Workers have won wage settlements running 32 to 36 percent over three years. Compared to what Woodcock has in store, such a settlement would represent a genuine gain in real wages, especially if it were accompanied by an unlimited, uncapped COLA. Certainly the UAW has more than enough muscle to force such a settlement. The obstacle is the pro-company Solidarity House gang.

A particularly important task in connection with the question of wages is the necessity to defend the wage parity between U.S. and Canadian auto workers. A healthy wage increase for both American and Canadian auto

workers would leave the Trudeau government's wage-control law a shambles and immeasurably strengthen all North American unions.

Auto workers certainly shouldn't look to Woodcock to struggle for a meaningful wage increase. Upon his retirement as UAW president in 1977 he hopes to continue his services to the bosses in the cabinet of right-to-worker Jimmy Carter. UAW members may indeed witness Woodcock administering a wage-control program of the "friend of labor" Democratic Party.

A repetition of the defeat suffered by the UAW in 1973 will be a serious setback not only for the auto workers but for the entire North American labor movement. The bourgeoisie will pay close attention to the union in the coming week. It knows that significant gains by the UAW will set an example for hundreds of other unions—most importantly for the giant United Steelworkers whose contract will expire in 1977.

It is the duty of every class-conscious auto worker to do everything in his or her power to guarantee a successful strike. Above all it is necessary to patiently explain to the union members the treacherous role of the Woodcock bureaucracy. We repeat—even a limited victory will take place not because of but in spite of the current UAW misleaders.

Woodcock along with the rest of the UAW bureaucracy is the living embodiment of the fact that in the imperialist epoch the trade unions will either become instruments of the class struggle against the bourgeoisie or they will decay into instruments of class treason, binding the workers ever tighter to the decaying bourgeois order. ■

waged by Leon Trotsky against popular frontism during the 1930's, the Spartacist tendency was unique in warning from the very beginning that the class-collaborationist Allende regime would lead to a bloody defeat for the workers. We alone refused to give "critical support" to the UP or any of its parties. Tragically, our warnings were proved correct. Now once again we alert the working class that the formation of a "broad anti-fascist front" with sectors of the bourgeoisie, far from hastening the downfall of the hated butcher Pinochet, constitutes a roadblock to the only sure means of smashing the bloody dictatorship once and for all: a working-class revolution.

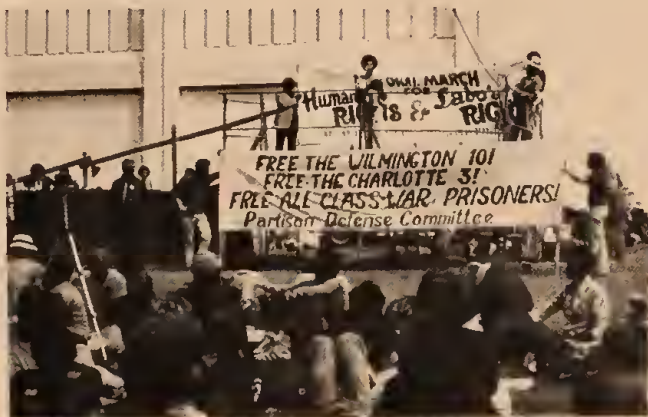
Ever since the September 11 coup, the Stalinists have tried to put the entire blame on the CIA, which was certainly up to its neck in the plotting. The Stalinists are only attempting to hide their own criminal responsibility for the debacle. To admit the role played by the military officer caste and the bourgeois parties, to whom the Communists and Socialists repeatedly capitulated, would confirm the Trotskyist charge that the reformists' policies conciliated murderous counterrevolution. That is why they chant "Chile si, junta no" every time we raise the class-struggle slogan, "Obreros [workers] si, junta no."

That is also why reformists of all stripes insist on repeating the profoundly false chant, "The people united will never be defeated." It was above all in Chile, where the "united people" (i.e., the workers subordinated to the bosses) meant not simply a defeat but the smashing of the organized workers movement. And it is because the Stalinists and other centrists and reformists cannot defend their own treacherous role in the acid test of Chile that they try to escape revolutionary criticism by physically excluding Trotskyists from Chile demonstrations.

As we stated in the "Declaration of Fraternal Relations" between the international Spartacist tendency and the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria of Chile (in WV No. 111, 28 May 1976), "The events of 1970 to 1973 in Chile posed, and continue to pose, a fundamental test of the revolutionary capacity of all who claim to speak in the historic interests of the working class." The question of the popular front—what Trotsky termed "the main question of proletarian class strategy for this epoch"—did not simply go up in smoke as the Moneda was burning in Santiago. It is ever-present today, in Portugal, in Italy, in France and Chile, where the Stalinist and social-democratic misleaders seek to repeat the tragic experience of 1970-73.

Sugar-coated lies about a mythical "peaceful road" or a painless stage of "new people's democracy" are not true solidarity with Chilean workers. The real demonstration of proletarian internationalism is to tell the truth to the working class, however painful. And the truth is that only along the road of permanent revolution, through the establishment of working-class rule supported by the peasantry, can the exploited and oppressed sweep away, once and for all, the Pinochets and their henchmen. ■

2,000 March for Wilmington 10 in Raleigh



WV Photo

RALEIGH, N.C., September 6—About 2,000 people participated here today in the March for Human and Labor Rights organized by the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR).

NAARPR, dominated by the Communist Party (CP), had called the march to focus on the frameups of the civil rights activists known as the Wilmington 10 and the Charlotte 3. The state's persecution of these activists, who face a total of 282 years' imprisonment, was initiated after the eruption of black protest against the wave of KKK terror which swept the state in 1969-71 after a federal court ruled that the Charlotte-Mecklenberg County school system had to desegregate, through busing if necessary.

The Wilmington 10 and the Charlotte 3 are the most well-known cases of victimization in this state which is infamous for its brutal racist repression. North Carolina is a "right-to-work" state with the lowest percentage of union labor in the country and the highest number of prisoners in proportion to the population. Over one hundred prisoners are currently on death row in the state.

The march itself was small, listless and dispirited. After a mile-long march through the city, the demonstrators gathered in front of the governor's mansion, where keynote speaker Angela Davis presented the CP's strategy to save these victims of right-wing repression: a boycott of tourism in North Carolina (the state's third largest industry) and a boycott of the J.P. Stevens Company, a major N.C. manufacturer currently being organized by the textile workers.

In addition to the NAARPR, the only other organized contingent was that of the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), marching under the banner "Free the Wilmington 10, Free the Charlotte 3, Free All Class-War Prisoners!" This banner caught the attention of Lennox Hines, president of the National Conference of Black Lawyers and co-chairman of the rally, who sent runners requesting the PDC to bring it up to the front. Here it remained for about ten minutes until the Stalinists, embarrassed by the militancy of the slogans, realized what had happened and sent goons to order the PDC away from the stage.

Chile...

(continued from page 12)

perhaps even without bloodshed...or so they say.

Chilean workers have already had a taste of this "new people's democracy," only last time it was called "Popular Unity" (UP). Under Allende's UP government they were told to give back nationalized and occupied factories, to give up their arms and trust in the "constitutional" officers. Then, too, it was supposed to be the "easy" way, the "peaceful" or "Chilean road to socialism." But the road didn't end in socialism; it led instead to the worst bloodbath Latin America has known.

Under the UP, the Chilean Communist Party continuously sought to include the Christian Democrats in the government coalition; now the Stalinists want to include them in the popular front in exile. But these same Christian Democrats actively cooperated with the militarist gorillas to topple Allende, and their leader Frei greeted the coup with open arms. If a section of the class enemy agrees to form a popular front it is solely to clamp a lid on revolutionary struggle by the proletariat. Should the workers nonetheless challenge the sacrosanct rights of private property, these "anti-junta democrats" will once again ally themselves with the forces of darkest reaction in order to drown the masses in blood.

As for the MIR, during Allende's regime it was the loyal "left" opposition to the UP, giving "critical support" to the *compañero presidente* as Allende hound the workers hand and foot to the bourgeoisie. Now the MIR seeks to join the popular front in exile, and even to include a wing of the Christian Democrats. This is the Leighton wing, which voted in Congress to declare Allende's government unconstitutional in August 1973 (a major step in legitimizing the coup in advance) but then "kept its hands clean" when the junta began mass executions immediately after taking power. They are only perfumed Freis.

Basing ourselves on the struggle

Partisan Defense Committee Forum For International Working-Class Defense!

A discussion of the class-struggle, anti-sectarian defense policies of the Partisan Defense Committee upon which the campaign to save Mario Munoz was based

Speaker:

REUBEN SHIFFMAN

PDC Co-Chairman

Friday, September 10, 7:30 p.m.

Parlor Room

Phillips Brooks House

Harvard University

CAMBRIDGE

Ireland...

(continued from page 5)

evidently many residents of the Catholic neighborhood) directed their wrath solely at the IRA. A few days later, 12-year-old Majella O'Hare was shot down in Ballmoore. A British spokesman initially claimed that the girl was killed in an army-Provo crossfire, although the RUC subsequently reported that she had been killed with an army bullet.

In this context, Betty Williams, a witness to the death of the Maguire children, began circulating a petition in Andersonstown, an IRA stronghold on the outskirts of Belfast, calling for an end to the violence. She was soon joined by Mairead Corrigan, an aunt of the slain children, and by the end of a week a demonstration of 10,000, mostly Catholic women, marched through the Upper Falls district demanding "peace." They were joined by a few score Protestant women from the traditionally bitterly hostile Shankill district.

The Women's Peace Movement continued to mushroom, bringing out 25,000 in Belfast on August 28 while 50,000 marched in sympathy in Dublin on the same day. (Last Saturday the campaign drew 12,000 to the Craigavon Bridge separating Protestant and Catholic neighborhoods in Derry.) This time in Belfast the marchers went up the Shankill Road and reportedly received a friendly reception from Protestant bystanders, with "particular applause for women from Andersonstown and other Catholic districts" (*Irish Times* [Dublin], 30 August). The account continued:

"For the first time in many years, onlookers were treated to the spectacle of priests and quite a large contingent of nuns walking along the Shankill a practice not normally regarded as the wisest for Catholic religions. 'When were you last on the Shankill Road, sister?' a nun was asked. 'I've never ever been here before in my life,' she replied."

Secretary of State Rees hailed the "peace" marches as "one of the most significant things of the last few weeks" and the press generally played it up as a new dawn of brotherly love. The marchers had no common political program, however, and the only highlights of the demonstrations were the singing of traditional ballads ("When Irish Eyes Are Smiling") and non-denominational religious songs ("Amazing Grace") and the reading of the "Declaration of the Peace People."

The "peace people" rejected "the use of the bomb and the bullet and tech-

niques of violence" for everybody (and not just the IRA, they now emphasized). Everybody, that is, but the Ulster police and British army. The two organizers issued a statement (*Irish Press* [London], 26 August) which graphically revealed the incapacity of such political naïveté to provide answers on the decisive questions and sources of conflict in Ulster.

"There are also those on both sides who want to drag us into condemning or supporting the security forces. We have begun to realize that a minefield surrounds these questions, how differently different people want to answer them. We have been overwhelmed by the amount of work for peace that is necessary. We are now saying that we are not going to get into any of these political security questions."

Meanwhile, if Williams and Corrigan refused to take a position, a prominent peace movement supporter, Rev. Eric Gallagher of Belfast, told the World Methodist Conference (which sent a contingent to the Dublin demonstration), "I know that in England there is a movement to bring the British out overnight, to opt out would be a callous act of irresponsibility" (*Irish Times*, 30 August). Moreover, press accounts of the Belfast march describe a heavy troop deployment along the route, amounting to official endorsement and encouragement of the "peace" movement.

The Officials and Unions

Thus despite its organizers' desire to stay out of politics, the anti-violence marches objectively became anti-Provo demonstrations at least benevolently neutral toward the British army and police. This led the Provisionals to denounce Betty Williams as a "tout" (collaborator) and to announce defiantly, "The war will go on. We will not be deterred by the hysterics of the peace-at-any-price brigade" (an IRA officer quoted in the *New York Times*, 22 August).

The IRA Officials, on the other hand, endorsed the "peace" movement, although one of their leaders, Tomas MacGiolla, warned that "if middle class do-gooders remain in the leadership they will kill it with endless prayer meetings..." The Officials—along with the Communist Party of Ireland (CPI), the left wing of the Irish Labour Party and the leadership of the Northern Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU)—claim to oppose sectarianism (as do the Provos), but they hope to douse it with nothing but trade-union economism.

The vehicle for this is the "Better Life for All Campaign" started by the Northern Committee of the ICTU after the Armagh killings last January. The political program of this campaign was summed up by Officials leader Des O'Hagan: "From the British Government we demand immediate action on the crucial issues of democratic rights, jobs, houses and an end to sectarianism." How the British state could deliver "an end to sectarianism" was not explained.

For the unemployment and poverty that fuel the communal hatreds in Northern Ireland, the Officials and their co-thinkers offer nothing more than a moldy social-democratic program of a progressively larger "public sector" administered by the existing bourgeois state apparatus:

"We therefore call for the establishment of an Irish Economic Development Board composed of representatives of the commercial and development ministries, North and South, representatives from the State sector industries and from the ICTU, charged with the development of Ireland's natural resources through a planned comprehensive expansion of State sector enterprise..."

United Irishman, July 1976

But the capitalist state, particularly in the period of imperialist decay, is incapable of guaranteeing full employment and economic prosperity for working people. Already there is a considerable development of state-

owned industry and welfare schemes in Northern Ireland, affording both Catholics and Protestants in the province an appreciably higher standard of living than in the Republic. But nonetheless, unemployment in the North still stands at over 11 percent, and thus the competition for jobs will inevitably exacerbate sectarian conflicts. Only in a workers republic which has expropriated the bourgeoisie can a truly planned economy be established; consequently, only under workers rule can the material conditions be created for a democratic solution to the communal conflict in Ulster.

British "Trotskyists" Face Ulster

Within the ostensibly Trotskyist movement the polar positions on the Ulster question and much else—are represented by the incredibly philistine, Kautskyan Militant group around Ted Grant and the petty-bourgeois radicals of the International Marxist Group (IMG, British section of Ernest Mandel's "United Secretariat").

The position of the Militant group can be described as social-democratic Unionism, agitating for unity between Protestant and Catholic workers on the most minimal economist issues. The Grantites oppose the withdrawal of British troops until an anti-sectarian workers militia can be established to suppress the Orange and Green terrorists. Unlike the Grant group, we are unconditionally for withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland. But we recognize that in the absence of anti-sectarian workers militias, withdrawal will simply lead to further communal violence. This is a reality that the "Troops Out" movement denies.

In contrast, the IMG pushes the nationalism of the oppressed, seeking to give it a more popular character and left rhetorical cover. The IMG's *Red Weekly* (19 August) offers the following friendly advice to the Provos:

"It more women and men are not to be captured by hypocritical peace groups then the Republican movement and the anti-imperialist organizations must begin to outline a strategy for victory based on mass participation of the nationalist working class [our emphasis] and abandon the strategy that relies on a small 'army' of the people which is

forever prone to isolation from the people."

For these Pahlolist enthusiasts of "progressive" communal warfare, from Lebanon to Ulster, the Protestant section of the working class is at best irrelevant. What counts for the IMG is broadening the base for a petty-bourgeois nationalist movement which considers the bulk of the Ulster proletariat as mere lackeys of British imperialism and, hence, perfectly suitable targets for mass slaughter.

The internecine sectarian/communal strife in Northern Ireland cannot be equitably resolved through forcible reunification with the capitalist landlord/church-ruled Republic, as the IRA and its IMG camp followers propose, nor through simple economism, however militant. Only in the course of a revolutionary upsurge attacking the very foundations of capitalist rule can unity between the Catholic and Protestant working people be forged, and for that the key is leadership of a Trotskyist vanguard party. ■

Cleveland Schools...

(continued from page 4)

tion of the schools.

But the servile, pro-capitalist union misleaders have done virtually nothing! The AFL-CIO has locally issued a reprint of the Federation's tepid support for busing and in April held a seminar for union members. The UAW and Teamsters have done nothing. A militant, organized mobilization of unionists and blacks could sweep the racists off the streets. But the union bureaucracy has no intention of assembling such a force. Knowing that such a mobilization of the rank and file could also sweep them from power, the bureaucracy has no alternative but to bury their heads in the sand with the liberals.

No class-struggle leadership can be expected from various self-proclaimed socialist organizations as well. The SWP and YAWF will be early competitors in tailing after the NAACP, while the Communist Party, less visible but stronger in the unions, will have barely distinguishable politics. At the first sign of violent confrontation they will be quick to call for more police protection and federal troops as the situation escalates. But given the events of 1966 and 1968, demands for police protection and federal troops will not be easy to sell to Cleveland's blacks.

The dangers of a white racist mobilization in Cleveland cannot be overestimated. Cleveland's sharply segregated housing patterns have preserved the West Side as one of the largest and oldest solidly white working-class areas in the country. It is among this largely Catholic "blue-collar" population, inside the city limits and in suburbs like Parma, that Gerald Ford pins his electoral hopes, calculating that a more virulently anti-busing stand will be a top vote-getter. Judging by the past activities of the "Revolutionary Communist Party" in Boston and Louisville, it is by catering to the very same reactionary, racist attitudes that these Jim Crow Maoists will seek to "unite the people" against busing!

Because of the do-nothing policies of that section of the union bureaucracy which is not actively anti-busing, the racists may have a field day whipping up anti-black hysteria among Cleveland's white workers, as well as in their usual suburban stomping grounds. Alone among left organizations, the Spartacist League has called on the labor movement to undertake an offensive to back busing and mount an integrated working-class defense of black school children. Without such an offensive, Cleveland could become another Boston, Louisville or even worse. ■

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Steelworkers ...

(continued from page 7)

battle that occurred in the Mine Workers over three years ago. At that time the Spartacist League stood virtually alone on the left in refusing to support Miller. We warned against the treachery of the left in building up the credentials of "union democracy" reformers like Miller:

"As the Spartacist League has repeatedly pointed out in our propaganda, the existing labor bureaucracy is now deeply unstable and can be shattered. Profoundly ossified and corrupt, socially isolated, especially from the younger and minority-group workers, its rigid Cold War variant of anti-communism an impediment to the flexibility of the liberal imperialist bourgeoisie, the Meanyite bureaucracy is losing its grip on the allegiance of the working class. If the workers are mobilized to replace these traitors only with a slicker version of same—armed with the social-democratic rhetoric used to such advantage by their European counterparts and not tarnished by the particular betrayals of their predecessors—rather than with a communist leadership, then an opportunity will have been lost which will not quickly recur."

—"Trade Union Tactics and the Transitional Program," *WV* No. 21, 25 May 1973

During the Miller campaign the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP)—while it supported Miller—was still essentially enmeshed in the petty-bourgeois milieu and had little but disdain for trade-union work. Today, however, it can no longer sneer at the unions as a central arena for the intervention of leftists.

In his report to the January plenum of the SWP National Committee on the "new turn" of the party, national secretary Jack Barnes devoted considerable time to underscoring the significance of the Sadlowski campaign to the SWP. Barnes says: "The most important thing about the Sadlowski campaign is not what happens in the USW itself, important as that is. This can be the beginning of a reform movement to democratize the American labor movement." Even Barnes admits that there is nothing leftist about Sadlowski's operation.

Sadlowski, no more than Miller—who defies his own membership and breaks their strikes—will not institute workers democracy in the unions. However, he does represent a break from the almost monolithic, hidebound conservative labor bureaucracy in the direction of a slicker form of reformism.

The SWP is clearly pinning its hopes for intervention in the labor movement on the emergence of such an accessible layer of "progressive" bureaucrats to whom they can indurate themselves. The *Militant* has given the Sadlowski campaign extensive coverage and the SWP's supporters in the unions have eagerly begun to involve themselves with Sadlowski's Steelworkers Fight-back Committee.

At the USWA convention the SWP sold a pamphlet by Andy Rose entitled "The Fight for Union Democracy in Steel." Rose's pamphlet is notable for its thorough dishonesty.

Rose correctly points out that CIO leaders only took up the struggle to build industrial unions under the pressure of mass struggles waged by workers under the leadership of socialists, such as the 1934 strikes in Toledo, Minneapolis and San Francisco. He also shows how the CIO leaders systematically attempted to quash the militancy of the ranks; how their alliance with Roosevelt led to major betrayals such as in the Little Steel strike in 1937; how the labor leadership supported the imperialist World War II, leading to endorsement of the no-strike pledge and suppression of the class struggle at home; and finally, how CIO leaders anxious to preserve their alliance with the Jim Crow Democratic Party betrayed black workers. The central lesson, we are told, is the following: "The slogans Trotsky raised

then are still the key: for the complete independence of the unions from the capitalist state, and for trade-union democracy" (emphasis in original).

However, in the midst of this generally accurate recitation approving references to Sadlowski are thrown in. Sadlowski, it seems, opposes racism ("You can't be a union man and a racist," says Sadlowski). Of course, George Wallace and I.W. Abel also say they are not racists. Sadlowski is credited with opposing the Vietnam war (belatedly of course, after it had become unpopular). Sadlowski apparently looks forward to the future when the labor movement will form its own party (for now, however, he continues to support liberal Democrats like Fred Harris and Bill Singer in Chicago). Finally, we are told that Sadlowski opposes no-strike deals. Rose advises us that "...Sadlowski's campaign for union democracy is important for the entire trade union movement. It is a fight that deserves support from all unionists who want to see—in Sadlowski's words—a 'tough, democratic labor movement.'"

The clear implication is that Sadlowski is in the tradition of revolutionary opposition (once symbolized by the SWP) to the policies of AFL-CIO bureaucrats (like Meany, John L. Lewis and Philip Murray) and their apologists in the Stalinist Communist Party. This conclusion would undoubtedly surprise Sadlowski himself, who has not the slightest pretense of counterposing himself to Lewis, Murray and Reuther. In fact, Sadlowski would undoubtedly feel flattered if he were compared to any of these individuals.

Needless to say, Sadlowski's campaign utterances in the USWA contain not a word about a labor party, opposing imperialist war or fighting racism through demands for plantwide seniority or a union hiring hall. Sadlowski has not even supported minimal reforms like busing to implement school integration.

But above all, what about *independence of the unions from the capitalist*

state, which Trotsky deemed *essential*? How, comrades of the SWP, do you square this with Sadlowski's central strategy of *demanding that the Labor Department intervene in the USWA to guarantee fair elections*? How do you explain the following statement made by Sadlowski at one of his caucus meetings at the convention: "Nothing can be run fairly till it's taken out of the hands of the union altogether and put in the hands of an independent agency" (i.e., the bosses' government).

The aspiring power brokers of the SWP have undertaken their "turn" toward the unions recognizing that the Meanyite bureaucracy's stranglehold over the labor movement is brittle. If the Sadlowski "movement" is, as Jack Barnes described it, typical of "what is coming in a regenerated union movement," the SWP reformists want a piece of the action.

The bureaucratic jockeying in the Steelworkers union sits atop the seething suppressed discontent and frustration among the ranks of labor, ignored and abused by a leadership which has adamantly refused to make even the most minimal show of resistance to the capitalists' assaults on the workers' living standards. The question is not whether there will be challenges to the Meany, Abels and Gleasons, but whether the wrenching faction fights which will threaten their death grip will unleash the power of the union movement as a weapon in the class struggle or will merely drain off the militancy of the ranks in building a refurbished instrument of bureaucratic betrayal.

The reformists who ask the workers to unseat the entrenched bureaucracy only to settle for the small change of empty promises about "democratization" want only to cripple the workers in their struggle. Gutless office-seekers like Sadlowski have nothing to offer but cheap talk and dead ends. The labor movement must break from the policies of prostration before the bosses, their parties and their state and fight for a new leadership forged on a program of class struggle. ■

LA. Transit...

(continued from page 4)

who also sits on the board of the RTD. This disorganized and spontaneous demonstration was quickly put under control, however, with the appearance of a UTU representative who pleaded with the militants as "citizen operators" and "taxpayers who support RTD" to "extend Baxter Ward the fullest courtesy."

However, when Ward suggested that the drivers' checks be transferred to another firm to be processed with the *union financing two-thirds of the cost* he was heavily booed. As Ward went on to tell the angry drivers that they would not receive their checks till the following Friday, he nearly brought the roof down.

The hat-in-hand union representative, puffing up his chest, stepped in at this point to threaten a demonstration in Sacramento if the checks weren't ready by 6 p.m. that evening. Talk of the demonstration stopped when in a behind-the-scenes deal it was agreed to issue the paychecks the following Monday and Tuesday. But on Monday the strikers received another slap in the face when RTD management only produced partial paychecks—the rest to come later!

Throughout the strike the business-as-usual attitude of the UTU union tops has left the ranks unprepared to wage a militant strike. News of the negotiations was partially blacked out to the membership as the strike deadline approached. And because the ranks were not mobilized from the start, the original strike lines were small and dispirited. A UTU demonstration called

for tomorrow is not being well-publicized, and its starting time of 7 a.m. will no doubt keep many supporters and sympathizers from attending.

As San Francisco craft workers experienced last spring, despite their leadership's initial bluster, as soon as it was realized how dead-set the supervisors were on breaking their strike, the bureaucrats collapsed into total chaos, unable to put together even minimal displays of militancy. When facing their ex-"allies," Mayor Moscone and other "friends of labor" Democrats, across the barricades, they feared above all an open confrontation. What was called for were mass mobilizations at the picket lines, appeals for support from all city labor, intransigence in the face of court injunctions and the election of a strike steering committee to give control to the membership. However, this was not done and the S.F. craft workers strike went down to abysmal defeat.

Militants in Los Angeles transit unions must learn the lessons of the San Francisco conflict, above all the necessity to forge a new class-struggle union leadership which can prepare the ranks politically for a successful strike. Strike committees must be elected. There must be a mobilization of the entire Los Angeles labor movement for solidarity in the face of the RTD board's union-busting attacks. The sorry experience of L.A. strikers with the Bradleys and Browns, just like that of S.F. craft workers with Moscone, shows the struggle cannot be limited to "bread-and-butter" issues. The pro-capitalist bureaucrats must be ousted and the unions must break with the bosses' Democratic Party and forge an independent workers party. ■

Phone Worker Fired...

(continued from page 3)

which workers are fired for being sick, labor discipline is ensured through an endless revolving door of hiring and firing. Such methods have been in no small part responsible for the company's success in keeping operators among the lowest-paid phone workers.

MAC, an opposition group with a five-year history in the CWA, is fighting to make the CWA a class-struggle union. MAC's program includes demands for union programs to fight racial and sexual discrimination in the company, for 30 hours work at 40 hours pay to provide jobs for all, for free 24-hour child care, access for all to all job categories on a first-come, first-serve basis, and equalization of wage differentials between craft and traffic. Ma Bell's arbitrary punitive rampages must be stopped! Management off the shop floor—finks out of the union!

Throughout the current narassments, MAC has insisted that shop-floor solidarity is not enough; the union must take any and all necessary action including a strike to rehire the fired workers, and stop the firings and downgrades. Such action must take place in the context of preparing for a militant contract strike to prevent further job losses. ■

Fremont...

(continued from page 3)

with Resistance, a newer reformist opposition, on the basis of empty "unity and fight" rhetoric. This dead-end "unity" was exposed when the new coalition expelled the CMUAW from a public meeting because of the CMUAW's attempt to raise a militant program. The CMUAW correctly opposes the on-going "women's lawsuit" supported by Standup—an anti-union scheme to prevent layoffs of low-seniority women by bringing in the capitalist courts to rewrite the contract. While defending the minimal union job protection afforded by the seniority system, the CMUAW calls for strikes against layoffs and a shorter workweek at no loss in pay coupled with more hiring to fight the company's layoff schemes. The CMUAW also proposes to mobilize working-class strength by demanding the unlimited right to strike and union control of line speed and working conditions.

A third reformist opposition, "On the Line," politically supported by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party, has isolated itself with idiotic gimmickry as a substitute for program—such as a recent button and T-shirt sales campaign with meaningless slogans like "Contract '76—A Time to Fight." Not surprisingly, present supporters of On the Line also helped to elect the Brotherhood in 1973, and On the Line has failed even to call for an industry-wide strike as opposed to the impotent one-at-a-time strategy of Woodcock. At the August 22 Local meeting the CMUAW motion which called for a union-wide strike was supported by Standup, which had never before supported this demand, and Resistance. However, all three of these reformist groups fail to raise a program to oust the class-collaborationist bureaucracy, which is the most immediate obstacle to real struggle. As the CMUAW correctly notes: "Any fight against the employers or their state must first confront the job of ousting the bureaucrats with their program of class collaboration" ("UAW Militant," 10 August). ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

No More Popular Fronts!

The Chilean Proletariat Will Rise Again!

***For
Workers
Revolution
to Smash
the Junta!***

On the third anniversary of the September 11 coup in Santiago, militant workers and radical youth throughout the world proclaim their solidarity with the beleaguered Chilean proletariat. We renew our determination to smash the bloodsoaked Pinochet junta which massacred more than 30,000 of our class brothers and sisters. The international working class will not forget this monstrous crime. We will avenge our martyred comrades by destroying the brutal capitalist system which cut them down.

To demonstrate solidarity with Chilean workers, the first task faced by every class-conscious militant is to understand *how* the fight against the junta must be waged. Is it by forming the "broadest possible anti-fascist popular front" as the Communist Party and its various Chile committees say? The ignominious collapse of the Allende popular front painted in strokes of blood the crucial lesson that the working class must reject the class-collaborationist policies which allowed the reactionary plotters to prepare their murderous plans for decapitating the proletariat.

The Pinochet regime, which never had more than a narrow base of committed social support, is now more isolated than ever. Even sections of the bourgeoisie are disaffected because of the economic collapse of the country, which still shows no sign of recuperating despite many months of Milton Friedman's "shock treatment." The Stalinists say the workers must scale down their demands in order not to scare away this anti-junta bourgeoisie. They call not for proletarian revolution, but rather a first "stage" of "new people's democracy." That way things will be easier, and

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"The sceptics and the prophets of doom ... have emphatically stated that the Armed Forces and Corps of Carabineros would not consent to guarantee the work of the people if these should decide on the establishment of socialism in our country. ..."

"The Chilean Armed Forces and the Carabineros, faithful to their duty and to their tradition of non-intervention in the political process, will support a social organization which corresponds to the will of the people."

—S. Allende, "First Message to Congress,"
December 1970



"It is the most elementary duty for revolutionary Marxists to irreconcilably oppose the Popular Front in the election and to place absolutely no confidence in it in power. Any 'critical support' to the Allende coalition is class treason, paving the way for a bloody defeat for the Chilean working people when domestic reaction, abetted by international imperialism, is ready."

—*"Chilean Popular Front,"*
Spartacist, November-December 1970



WV Photo

Anti-junta demonstration at NYC's Town Hall last March.